

TRUMAI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui pits* at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumai, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

*The Men's Circle.*

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

#### *Status*

554 *Aek*, the Trumai word for chief, also denoted membership in the  
565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower  
198 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which,  
622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural  
624 Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.<sup>10</sup> There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

<sup>10</sup> Galvão 1949, p. 40.